2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 197 Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them. Their land was, for some time, included in the Pima reservation and it was not returned to the Papago until 1933. In the meantime, they had intermarried largely with the Pima and had also undergone much White influence. Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie, form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary.

Among the kuhatk, aapap and apki sibs predominate, as at Archie. There is the same conservatism in material culture as among the neighboring groups, but during the Pima connection, much kuhatk land was allotted, acculturation necessarily proceded faster, and many old ceremonies were lost. Anegam, the kuhatk village nearest to Archie, always remained part of the Papago reservation and being cut off from its congeners, joined with Archie in ceremonies. But it kept a certain connection with the people of hunuhra, the dialect division to the west, which sometimes shared the Anegam [578] Well. The result is a feeling of foreigness between Anegam and Archie, resulting in mutual ridicule and frequent quarrels between their children in the government school.

Kuhatk Village Units

621 Anegam (ánkam, Having Willows)

This is the first of the kuhatk towns, a close neighbor of Archie and Santa Rosa, joining with them in ceremonies. The village was in the same general locality in 1698 when Kino passed near it and sent its chief a wand of office.[1] Later it moved to ohn k wahwia, Salt Well, but this area, when the Papago reservation was formed, was left outside it so Anegam moved in close to Santa Rosa. The Wells it uses now are Montezuma Mine, Copperosity and kih wahwia (Big Wells). While Salt Well was still in use it was often shared with the people of Kaka, in the huhuhra division and many Anegam people are said to be huhuhra:

Quajote (kuhatk, Dried and Burnt)

This village, with those to follow, was in the strip left outside the reservation and not purchased until 1932. Its communications, therefore, have been with the Pima and many of its former residents are now on Pima land. Quajote received

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Kino in 1698 and sent runners into the desert to bring him water long before he arrived.[1] Kino gave to this village and to its near neighbor sihw oitak (Bitter Fields) the name of San Bonifacio and in the two together he found more than three hundred people. A cane of office was bestowed on the chief who accompanied Kino nearly to Archie. Communications at that time were close, both with the Gila Pimas who had sent word of the missionary's coming and with the Sóba Jípuris of the Santa Cruz, whom the Quajote people had just been aiding in a fight. Quajote Well is Bitter Well.

Other villages in the Quajote area are Chuchu (tcĭhtcĭh: caves) Kokomelik, perhaps visited by Kino and called el Cubit Tubic[2] and Wotum (Cockleburr) which was certainly visited. It was the nearest village to the Gila Pimas and apparently in close connection with them for it knew how to welcome the missionary with arches and crosses though no Spaniard had visited it before. Kino baptised five infants and a sick adult here and called the place San Angelo.

3. HUHUHRA DIALECT GROUP

Huhuhra means grandmother's children, *i. e.*, orphans and was bestowed on the people of Káka[3], one village of the group because they had no Well and wandered about sharing those of other village units. The huhuhra area is at the extreme west of Papago country running south into Mexico. Further west are mountains and uninhabitable desert which preclude expansion in that direction. The legend is that these people did not "come up from underground" but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie people. The site of magical events said to have taken place before the emergence (such as the death of the monster eagle) is placed in their territory. For this reason, huhuhra people are all rumored to have magic power and are looked on somewhat askance by the other groups. Some corroboration for the legend can be found in the fact that the huhuhra do not have the Pueblоan ceremony of the Wiikita, though they have the Mexican ceremonies of the drinking and the cleansing feasts. Their dialect is more like that of Archie than like the Hispanized speech of the south but it contains many incomprehensible words, said to be ancient. The huhuhra are the most primitive of Papago groups and the most conservative, having kept the old brush house long after it was abandoned in other parts of the reservation.

---

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 397.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.
[3] Father Bonaventura.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND LAW

A Papago village operated with the minimum of formal authority and, to a great extent, it still does so. Each small and isolated group had very much the attitude of a family who arrange their affairs by mutual consent, showing the general tolerance of offenses which is necessary in those who must continue to live together. With the digging of wells which will allow large villages and the roads which encourage travel, this isolation of the village will cease, but it has been, in the past, a determining factor in social behavior.

The village which was, in any case, a group of relatives, looked up to its leader as to a father. His speeches of admonition in the council house were very like those given by the grandfather in the hut. As the Papago father never punished, so the leader guided in most instances by moral suasion. This would be impossible in a large and heterogeneous group, but the village was a small and constant group with common interests.

When differences arise in such a group, there may be enduring feuds; there may be a system of avoidances which prevents feuds or, finally, a glossing over of disagreements and an effort to maintain an unbroken surface. The Papago practised the last method. With them, an open quarrel was the forbidden thing. "People do that only when they are drunk" and the speeches of admonition at the drinking ceremony expressly warn against it. But they had none of the ceremonial avoidances which smooth family relationships by formality. Instead of avoiding particular individuals, they avoided harsh words or open disagreement with anyone. This well established custom is one of the difficulties in modern self government, since the public argument approved by the Whites is shunned by the Papago and one who disagrees with the majority of the meeting is likely to stay away. "I was afraid they might not like what I said." The corollary to such reticence is a criticism outside the meeting and the Papago expedient is to continue with this until some compromise is reached mild enough for public statement.

Training in peaceableness begins in childhood. School fights are rare and the problem of the bully an unusual one. Various Papagos have explained to the writer the proper behavior as it should be taught to children:

"When people have done us harm, they should never know from the way we act what we feel about it. We should never

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

and this girl was dead. The men dragged them out into the rain and the house began to burn. Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near." (26)

"Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire and it seemed that it reached out and took her and burned her up." (26)

"And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. Because when a woman commits this fault, anyone in her family may be punished. That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the shaman to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see whose fault it was. They don't punish that girl. She knows that she has killed her relatives and that is enough." (26)

Women admit that an intrepid woman, if she were particularly busy, might conceal her state for a day or two. "But not more. She would be too much afraid." She might also practise the reverse procedure and keep her husband from going to war by telling him falsely that she was menstruating. An injury like this would be far less likely to be forgiven by a husband than would unfaithfulness.

As a rule, the women found the four days segregation no burden. Rather it was a pleasant chance to sit still and give up the household responsibility. They took their basketry to the hut where all women, except first menstruants, might visit them. The groups gambled, sang and told stories. No man might shout to the menstruant or even look at her from a distance. A tale recounts that once a woman in the segregation hut saw an approaching party of Apaches. She shouted to some men in the fields but they would not turn round nor watch her signals and she dared not approach, so the Apaches attacked the village. Another local tale says that a woman who frequently quarrelled with her husband would on each occasion retire to the hut whence he was powerless to get her back. He had to move the family before she would come out.

The segregation custom is still in use, though not so widely as formerly.

DREAM POWER AND CHOICE OF CAREER

The puberty of the youth was not signalized. Even though he married, he continued in his father's house without much change in status until he achieved some noteworthy deed which stamped him an adult. There was no ceremony or definite crisis. He began to take part in men's affairs; ultimately would be consulted and would speak in the council.

Papago life admitted of a number of specializations. A man could be a leader or a ceremonial officiant, a planter, hunter,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175 657 Civilian Conservation Corps work began in 1933.[22] At first the Papago would not work very willingly on these projects, and the old people opposed the idea of the young men earning money—they predicted correctly that young people would come to disregard parental authority, begin drinking, and get into trouble. However, many of the Papago men, both young and old, became interested in the projects, and before the CCC was liquidated in 1942, about one man in each twenty families was doing CCC work. This was a rather small proportion as compared with some Indian tribes and other sections of the country, but it was a great increase over the initial response. The projects were of practical value to the Reservation as a whole: roads were built to places that had been inaccessible except by horse; *charcos*[23] were put in, and deep wells were drilled, which allowed the people to live the year round in the valley villages. Furthermore, the projects benefited the workers, for they learned new skills and methods which they have since used to some advantage.

175 578 185 Yet neither the public works nor the wage-work economy were accepted wholeheartedly by all the Papago. Some of the villages, particularly those in the western districts, bitterly opposed the improvements, although since then the people have begun to use them. There was disagreement over the use of the water, over individual, community, and government wells, and there were bitter fights with some of the already established Indian cattle owners, who stood by their customary rights. A conflict also arose, as the old men had predicted, from the money that came in as it never had before. Young men could now buy food and need not be tied down to the fields; they could be independent of their fathers, who had previously supplied the knowledge and direction which it took to earn a living. Road construction and the acquisition of cars directly abetted this new independence.

175 657 In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was placed before the Papago. The Indians always had village organization (see chap. v); the agents had councils, and there had been purely Indian committees for particular purposes (see chap. vii). But now the whole Reservation was to be organized on a democratic basis, with equal representation in council. When the plan was placed before them, the people approved, though few understood what it meant. Under tutelage of the government and with suggestions from a group of Indian delegates, a constitution was drafted. The Reservation was divided

22. This work, first termed Emergency Conservation Work and subsequently Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division, was financed from CCC funds and administered by the Indian Service. It was not limited to young unmarried men and veterans as in other parts of the country but served rather as a general work relief program for Indian men.

23. *Charcos* are natural ponds, deepened and diked.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

or four related men will do their plowing, weed-cutting, or harvesting together. A large cattle-owner will pay his relatives in cash, but the usual return is in labor. 596

Associated with the necessity for co-operation is the custom of exchanging gifts among relatives. In the old days gifts—usually of food—were exchanged frequently and regularly between related households. No return was asked, but the recipient was always expected to make a similar gift in the future. It is probable that this device was developed to insure the survival of the group by more equitably distributing the supply of food and other necessities, although it was never mere barter. Together with the custom of assisting relatives, the gift exchange was a form of investment, as Underhill points out.[8] The custom acquired overtones of social significance, and the gift became a symbol of esteem and solidarity among kinfolk. Today if a family has a surplus of anything—as when a steer is butchered or many rabbits are killed—portions are sent to members of the extended family,[9] and sooner or later a return gift is received. No thanks are voiced, except indirectly to other people through praise of the giver's generosity. Although the gift exchange seems to have lost most of its economic character and to have survived only as a social custom, it is still important. If individuals or families who can do so do not give or return gifts, they are looked at askance. 602 431

All members of the extended family have a strong feeling of responsibility toward one another. If an old couple live alone, a child is often sent to live with and help them. If they are in need and their own children are unable or unwilling to take care of them, the relatives feel it is their duty to help. So strong is this feeling that, when the distribution of relief supplies was begun during the depression, the Papago requested that some form of work be required in return, lest the system of family responsibility break down and the solidarity and independence of the people be destroyed. Throughout the lean years, the number of families continually on relief rolls remained very small. 596

Family relationship also carries an obligation to settle disputes amicably. Regarding one suit brought over the division of a field among relatives, the villagers remarked, "And they are closely related! They should be able to settle it among themselves without having to take it to court and say all those mean things." Papago believe that recourse to legal authority should be taken only by those who are not related. The old system is breaking down, and disputes which would have been settled by relatives in the old days are now being brought to court. In the eastern districts of the Reservation the effective sanc- 596 578 691

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 42, 100.
9. Gift exchange is now being extended to include close friends who are not relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

tions are now changing from social to legal, but in the more conservative western sections few, if any, family disputes are taken to court.

Not all activities among relatives are dictated by such sober considerations as economic necessity and family pride. The Papago are fond of visiting, and relatives are always welcome. The visitor is given a small gift of food to symbolize the host's happiness at his visit and the affection he bears him. In the old days it was inconceivable for one to visit an unrelated household. Today the men are freer to visit whomever they please, but if a women ventures to visit an unrelated friend, someone is likely to remark, "Why should she go down there? Hasn't she anything to do at home [i.e., in her own family]?" Now that children are forming close friendships outside the family, at school and later on jobs, this insularity is beginning to break down. Still—though some relatives are more compatible than others—hospitality is offered principally to the extended family.

Among the Catholic Papago the family group has been widened to include persons not necessarily related by blood—godparents. According to both Sonora and Roman Catholic teaching, a child must be sponsored in baptism by a godfather and a godmother. This requirement the Papago integrated with characteristic ease into their own social structure, and godparents are now part of the extended family. They pray at the child's bedside if he is critically ill, and, if he dies, they may prepare the body for burial. Not only are they responsible for seeing that the child has proper religious training; they also serve as secondary parents. If the child should be orphaned and no relatives can care for him, the godparents will take charge of him.

A warm and close relationship is established not only between the child and his godparents but also between the two families. Parents and godparents call each other *compahli* and *comahli*, from the Spanish *compadre* ("co-father") and *comadre* ("co-mother"). One pair of godparents serves for all the children of a family. If the godparents are man and wife, they will ask the parents of their godchildren to serve as sponsors for their own children. Children of both pairs call each other by the kin terms for older and younger siblings. The rights and obligations of relatives are extended to godparents and their children, but these extensions are not so vital a part of the family system as among the Arizona Yaqui, who have a similar arrangement.[10]

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended

10. See Edward H. Spicer, *Pascua: A Yaqui Village in Arizona*, pp. 91–116. The extended family was almost nonexistent among the Yaqui in Arizona as a result of war, deportation, and emigration, and thus the ceremonial sponsors took the place of the extended family. With the Papago, among whom the extended family is strong, the ceremonial sponsorship is only an added security, and therefore is not the elaboration of the family system that it is among the Yaqui.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

794 797 singing of hymns (in English) and on special anthems by the choir. The annual camp meeting at Sells, when Presbyterians come from other villages to spend a week or so camping near the church, attending services, and visiting with relatives, is somewhat in the tradition of the old intervillage activities.

Otherwise Presbyterian teachings have run counter in many ways to the Papago way of living. The old native beliefs are condemned as wicked superstitions. The use of alcohol and tobacco is officially prohibited to members, and dancing is banned. In short, the Papago are urged to live according to the moral code that prevailed in many American small towns a generation ago.

In the face of these attacks on their old and well-integrated culture, why did Papago embrace the new faith? The Desert People had already had a good many contacts with American culture, and some Papago felt that they could not remain static but must change with the changing times. One of the desirable changes was schooling for children, and the Presbyterian school near Tucson was one of the first available to Papago. The children usually came back active Presbyterians and became leaders in their communities.

The Papago themselves give various reasons why Presbyterianism appealed to them. Some found the preaching clear in contrast to the mystery of Catholic ritual and Latin hymns and prayers. Others liked the "strictness" of the religion. Many enjoyed hymn-singing and the social side of gathering for camp meetings (and undoubtedly the emotional release in public confession).[13] The use of Indians as preachers appealed to some Papago, for they like to receive guidance from their own people. They appreciated the chances to help run church affairs as elders and members of committees rather than having church government the concern of white outsiders only. Many say that they were made to feel that Presbyterianism stood for "progress" and "enlightenment," for good schools and hospitals as well as a new faith.

794 797 578 Whatever the reasons, many individuals in the five villages accepted the new faith. Contrary to the old pattern, this change was not always made by whole families, and group solidarity was badly shaken. Nearly twenty years of bitterness followed. Families were split when some brothers and sisters retained the old faith and others accepted the new. Since becoming a Presbyterian was in itself a condemnation of many of the old ways—the ceremonies, the medicine men's rites, Indian marriage customs, drinking, and dancing—resentment followed, and the air was charged with bitter quarrels. The schism spread from the family to all aspects of life. Economic and political co-operation became almost impossible.

Finally in 1929 the air was cleared in a battle over Agency policies, when

[673] 13. The sins usually confessed are, interestingly enough, neglect or bad treatment of relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

quarrels over religion were overshadowed and people took sides without reference to creed (see chap. vii). During the past decade the bitterness has died down, for Protestants and Catholics have found that they must work together if the tribe is to better its status. The Presbyterians are seeing the necessity for more tolerance of the old culture. Some are again visiting the medicine men; some set out their tables for the dead in November. The younger generation of Presbyterians is not so defensive, although, as we shall see in chapter xviii, the new faith has not been without influence on the personalities of the children. The two groups are beginning to attend each other's ceremonies, and, more important, family relationships are improving. Trouble still flares up occasionally, but the fact that family ties and obligations have reasserted themselves speaks for the underlying strength of these relationships. Even white leaders of the two churches are beginning to feel that the Reservation is big enough so that everyone can get along.

794
797
[578]

The actual number of Presbyterians is smaller than the effects of the new faith might lead one to expect, for only in five villages are there Presbyterian congregations. No new churches have been built since 1920, and there is only one school—at San Miguel. In the year of this study there were no Presbyterians west of Gu Achi (in the center of the Reservation), and no missionary work had been attempted in the western districts.

Though the number of Presbyterians is relatively small, it includes many men who can take leadership in the Papago world where it meets the white world (as in the tribal council) and men who, according to white standards, are capable of holding jobs. Several reasons have been suggested for this high proportion of leaders: that the Presbyterians learn English better through the English hymns which are so important in church ceremonies; that they realize more clearly the benefits of education and are more persistent in their efforts to attain it; that Roman Catholic children are handicapped by the training offered in the mission schools; that the Agency gives unconscious preference to Protestants in hiring employees; that the southeastern part of the Reservation where Presbyterians live has had longest contacts with whites and thus is more acculturated. There is probably truth in all these contentions. In the past, Presbyterian children have seemed the most anxious for higher education and have gone off the Reservation for it; perhaps this accounts for their greater employability. The Catholic schools were poor, but their reorganization in the thirties has improved them. Likely the real reason for the high proportion of Presbyterian leaders is a combination of all these factors, with the probability that it was the more aggressive individuals, dissatisfied with the old ways, who adopted the new, not only in religion but in education, economics, and politics as well.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

464 Most of the hundred-odd Papago who work for the Agency live with their families in Sells, although they often keep homes and fields in their own villages. These employees come mainly from the eastern districts and belong to the *hokʻololoti* and *tʻiokʻōwany* dialect groups, which have had longer contacts with whites than the others on the Reservation. They are predominantly Presbyterian, but there are also a few Catholics and non-Christians.

In lean years the steady wages offered by the Agency and the wider possibilities for recreation drew Papago to Sells. However, occasionally social problems arise. Girls who have gone to the Agency town have been known to get into trouble, and on one occasion within the last few years a number of girls were rounded up by the Indians and quietly sent back to their own villages. Papago children who have been brought up in Sells seem more aggressive and American in their behavior than others, and often the Papago say that the mischievous pranks and more serious escapades of school children "always start in Sells." Then, too, some of the adults who work for the government are [578] scorned by other Papago as "Agency Indians" and thus are separated from their own people, on the one hand, and from the white staff members, on the other.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE TRIBE GOVERNS ITSELF

619 The Papago tribe as a political unit has existed for less than ten years. Before that time, each village handled its own affairs, and related villages co-operated economically and socially, but there was no tribal government as such.

619 There were, however, attempts to bring together leaders from the various villages and dialect groups. For some years before the establishment of the 585 Reservation, some of the headmen and other leaders felt the need of government help in getting water developments, schools, and hospitals. They organized the Good Government League, which met regularly to discuss ways and means of attaining these ends and to draw up petitions for assistance. Characteristically, the group was loosely organized and it was completely Papago. A storekeeper lent the group a building in which to meet in bad weather, and government employees addressed them on request; but apparently no whites were responsible for the organization or its activities.

648 Opposition to the League developed among some of the old headmen and 578 certain of the more conservative communities. After the establishment of the 575 Reservation the feeling increased because, it was alleged, a small group of League members "ran the Agency" and "the superintendent always called

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were Kokololoi members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

earlier than is usual among many white groups, nevertheless the Papago child 857
still has a good deal of time for play.

Siblings and cousins of the same sex and approximate age from two or three neighboring households usually play together. Boys are free to roam the village and fields, but little girls must play near a habitation and can go from house to house only under the watchful eye of adults. At home brother, sister, and cousins often play together, but elsewhere boy-and-girl groups are seldom seen.

In play groups there is little quarreling. The older boys or girls make deci- 857
sions together, and the smaller ones abide by them. Older children try to 578
settle differences with their juniors peaceably; by so doing, they can get their own way at least part of the time, as they seldom would if every difference were taken to the elders. Even the boys rarely quarrel violently; a good deal of scuffling and wrestling goes on but few real fights. If a quarrel does occur in village play groups of either sex, the children go to their homes and stay until the incident is forgotten.

Interest in the old Papago games—shinny for the girls, racing and kickball 857
for the boys—has waned. Occasionally children play the stick game when they are at the saguaro camp, but they must ask older people what the rules are. Despite their rapid disappearance, the sports of former days have not been replaced by American games. Children in the eastern districts play baseball, football, and basketball at school, but such games are less frequent in the West. Jackstones is popular among little girls all over the Reservation (probably because it resembles an old Indian game for girls),[1] while little boys play marbles.

Purchased toys have not become a part of the Papago child's life. Boys [439]
sometimes have coaster wagons or toy automobiles, and girls ordinarily have a doll or two from the store when they are little, but interest in such toys is never very great, and they are abandoned by most children past the age of eight.

Most often children amuse themselves with toys or games created from things at hand, odds and ends picked up in the yard. Boys are especially adept at this; a child may amuse himself for an hour with a band of inner tubing, seeing what strange noises or shapes he can produce with it. Boys make slingshots and aim at targets or take turns pitching knives, and they fashion rough figurines from moistened desert soil. Much of their play is imitative: they dance, sing, and play imaginary musical instruments at a make-believe fiesta; they play cowboy with sticks and bits of rope. Probably the latter motif predominates, for every boy wants to be a cowboy. If a horse is corraled near the

1. See Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 146.

[Text continues on p. 135-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

153 761 In the old days the two main fears of the Papago were apparently the dead and animals. Every dead person—not only the slain enemy, though he was considered particularly dangerous—might return, bringing suffering, sickness, and death. It is uncertain whether and how far this fear of the dead concealed feelings of guilt and hostility and how far it represented their channelization; but certain aspects of the Papago way of life seem to suggest that such feelings have played an essential part in this highly magical concept of fear.

153 578 761 In interpersonal relations unquestioned co-operation was necessary and required. Disturbances which might upset the household were dangerous to its total functioning and therefore extremely undesirable. Expressions of anger and acts of violence occasionally occurred, but they were considered unwise and bad. Only very grave offenses merited actual retribution rather than avoidance. There was little channelization of emotions into specific roles of action. Most of the occasional acts of violence occurred at festive gatherings with their license to pleasure and their complete release from tension, but these outlets were not officially sanctioned. Interpersonal relations with the tribal enemy, the "bad medicine man," and the dead were alone exceptions to this rule of smooth co-operation. However, emotions concerning the enemy and the bad medicine man were likewise concentrated upon the connection with the dead. The worst mortal danger came to the Papago not from the living but from the dead enemy; the bad medicine man's destructive power stemmed from his contacts with the dead. A dead person was not openly named, accused, or condemned; his potential malevolent capacities were implied in the terror of his return and might be mitigated through certain rites of purification and reconciliation.

153 Terror is the highest expression of repulsion, in which hate, anger, aggression, and destructive tendencies are combined and converted into an overpowering drive for avoidance. On the other hand, terror, as opposed to open aggression, is not in effect an object-directed release but self-directed tension. The Papago practice of concentrating negative feelings in terror and fear of the dead apparently had the following threefold effect: it minimized the interpersonal tensions occurring in daily life; it united the living in their common fear and avoidance of all the dead; and it enforced the defensive tension necessary for survival, at the same time shifting from the living to the dead the fears which limit strength and freedom of action.

The controlling efficiency of such a psychological mechanism would be based upon the exaggeration of one specific tension area, which probably induced a relative release of others, and upon its legitimacy, which would lend the security of general approval to negative feelings otherwise not sanctioned.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

157 593 the living and working pattern of adults, particularly of the father and mother, will to a certain degree prevent children from maintaining infantile ties as they grow up. Identification will slowly be guided toward, and become, self-lived reality. Variations in emotional attachment and interpersonal disturbances may be assumed to be based largely on individual experiences and personality constellations within different families.

These conclusions suggested by cultural studies are borne out by the test results obtained from Papago children. In none of the other Indian tribes (or among midwestern white children) are the boys' pleasant emotional references so concentrated around their fathers or the girls' around their mothers. The difference by which pleasant experiences of Papago children with their parents outweigh the unpleasant experiences is the highest found in any tribe except the Navaho. The deep influence exerted by both parents and the high regard which the children have for their discipline are most clearly reflected in the western Papago children's answers to the Moral Ideology Test, which also show the father's relatively greater restrictive power in this moderately patriarchal society.

157 578 593 The only signs of potential hostility toward specific members of the family by an appreciable percentage of Papago children and which therefore may be inherent in Papago social organization are in the children's attitude toward their brothers and sisters, particularly toward those of the same sex. Brothers and sisters are far more often connected with unpleasant emotional experiences than are parents. Especially in incidents which rouse the children's anger and indignation, the difference between the amount of provocation attributed to brothers and sisters, on one hand, and to the parents, on the other, is very striking.

Such results suggest that the rules of seniority may in fact not always be accepted without difficulty and may themselves be an irritating institution. However, the girls relate their sisters at least as often with pleasant as with unpleasant emotions; it is the boys who show hostile feelings more clearly. Quite conceivably they are exposed to uncontrolled pressure from their older brothers while working in the fields in the father's absence, while the girls, staying around the house, are under more constant supervision by their mothers and grandparents. The test results also show that the boys ascribe functions of discipline less to parents and more to various other family members than the girls do. That difference in exposure may indeed influence the relationship between siblings is further supported by the findings that only the boys recall frightening experiences caused by their brothers, while the girls seem to be free from fear of both brothers and sisters.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

The Thematic Apperception Test, too, reveals similar signs of interpersonal disturbances. The interpretation of its results, without differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, states that the establishment of a functional relationship between brothers and sisters may be a point of conflict.[3] But this conflict seems to be only temporary and apparently does not hamper adult adjustment.

Papago boys, who have more opportunity for activities and personal contacts outside the family than their sisters, more frequently mention nonrelatives in connection with happy experiences than do the girls, who connect most such experiences with members of the family, their usual companions.

Very little was learned from the tests about the emotional relationship between boys and girls outside the family. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests reveal on the average only slight sexual anxiety in adolescent children. In the Emotional Response Test, age mates of opposite sex were not mentioned once in connection with pleasant memories, though there was some mention of them when unpleasant occasions were recalled. Boys and girls, but particularly the former, acknowledged being ashamed (i.e., embarrassed) in front of the other sex, and a few boys admitted getting angry at girls. But this is all we learn.

So far as observations and reports indicate, Papago marriages are normally stable. Fidelity of husband and wife seems to be quietly assumed. Courtship and the selection of partners as they take place at present are little restrained by family authority, except in cases of close relatives, as of first cousins, in which event the match is condemned or at least considered undesirable. Romantic love, however, is not one of the important concepts and values in Papago culture. The emotional value of the relationship between man and woman seems to be viewed almost entirely from the aspect of their adjustment to the Papago ideal of family unity: husband and wife are considered enviably happy if they have many living and healthy children, if they are industrious, and if they co-operate peacefully and harmoniously with each other and with the rest of the family. Mutual loyal attachment apparently is conceived and officially sanctioned as growing out of just this active participation in and adjustment to the physical and spiritual needs of the family group and not as developing from the perpetuation of two people's passion. A marriage based mainly upon these values is likely to remain stable and relatively undisturbed, even when there are extramarital sex relations.

Boys' premarital love affairs are considered natural and may be an occasion for joking and teasing on the part of adult relatives; but, if the affair appears

3. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter XIX

PAPAGO CULTURE AND WHITE

AS DISCUSSED in chapter ii, the basic life-patterns of the Papago were little influenced by white culture from the time the Spaniards first encountered them on the desert to the end of the nineteenth century. The Spaniards and Mexicans gave the Desert People domestic animals, new foods, implements, somewhat improved agricultural methods, and a glimpse of Christianity, but they left their social institutions fundamentally unchanged. 177

During the last forty years, with the establishment of permanent Christian missions in Papaguería and the creation of the Papago Reservation, the Papago have been exposed to alien forces more constant and powerful than any they had previously encountered. This pressure has not been in the form of open hostility, as was that of the Apache; it has been exerted chiefly through the introduction of new values and the more or less complete reinterpretation of values already functioning in Papago life. Most white aliens have demonstrated either openly or by implication a firm assurance that their values are the only right and decent ones, the sole ways to happiness, and are thus far superior to any which the Papago could possibly have. The Papago, though they probably cherish notions of the same kind about their own values, have been at a decided disadvantage because the white strangers are in control of the situation.

It is not surprising that, particularly during the first period of peaceful conquest by modern American civilization, the Papago showed various and changing signs of resentful hostility and resistance, on one hand, and of a more or less far-reaching acceptance, on the other. Similar signs accompanying adjustment to an alien culture may be observed in all Indian tribes studied in this project. But each group reveals its own reaction pattern, according to the differing socioeconomic organizations of the tribes, the varying strength, quality, and elaboration of their cultural values, and their diverse experiences with the encroaching forces. 177 578

The main areas in which the Papago people, old and young, have been

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

177 caught by the re-evaluation of their concepts of life may be indicated briefly as follows:
578

1. They have been taught for ages the principles of co-operative family organization and have experienced its satisfactory functioning, which implies the
157 reliance of everyone on everyone else, the condemnation of individual aims
177 which might disturb this organization, and a corresponding modesty and
578 inconspicuousness whenever the individual finds himself in a group situation.

White people, on the other hand, teach them by model and by implication that the individual should try to become more industrious, more clever, stronger, and in every way better than his next of kin and his neighbor; that his talents and aspirations are more important than the welfare of his family. The Papago sees that the one who has the best knowledge of English, who is quick in stating his requirements, and immodest (according to Papago rules) in his approach will have advantages denied to those who behave according to Papago custom. They observe that they are judged constantly by standards which put brother above brother, son above father, according to personal achievement. In school, the child who speaks up boldly is praised; the one who does another child's task for him is blamed. On the whole, competition and personal achievement are stimulated and encouraged much more than co-operation (as understood by the Papago).

2. White concepts of the acquisition and accumulation of personal property
157 for prestige and power are strange to the Papago, to whom personal prop-
556 erty consisted of a few objects for wear and use which were destroyed at his
177 death. Prestige and power came from the wisdom of age and experience or from grace given by the supernatural.

Today the value of personal property is clearly demonstrated by white people in their display of clothes, furniture, and cars, in the way they spend money at the trader's, in the esteem and praise they give the Papago family with greater means of subsistence than others. The restrictive aspects of property have been demonstrated by mission and school, which accent the sanctity of personal property and the wickedness of stealing, and by government's measures to apportion and guard grazing land by districts. The value of personal property is being inculcated into the Papago by the insistent inquisitiveness of administrative employees about exactly what belongs to whom and why, and who has the right to sell a specific cow and who has not. Finally, it has been brought home to them as pay for their labor—individual wages in money for individual work, to be spent by the receiver at his own will, automatically make him the master of his property, while

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

the rest have ordinary weapons. The four who killed 702
the dummies keep away from the dancing place until 796
the last night. They fast, and must not drink water. 536
Pits are made in the ground, a hundred yards or more away, which are a foot deep and wide enough to hold a man sitting with legs crossed. Here the four warriors have to sit immovable during the whole night, holding the scalps of the supposed Apaches, and care being taken that they do not face either the sun or the moon. Special songs are sung for these men. One man looks after them, and they are under so much restriction that they cannot scratch their heads or any part of their body with their hands, but have to apply a small greasewood twig if the necessity arises. Their wives, who also fast, sit in pits behind their husbands. After the dance is over the four men still have to keep up the taboo and dieting four days longer; then they bathe, and when they go to sleep many songs come to them in their dreams. Among the Pimas, when the warrior had killed an Apache, his wife made a tray, with a large svastika design interwoven.

The primitive condition of Papago society is giving 578 ●
way to the new, but not without a jar. In old times in the house of a prominent man, with his four or five wives, no quarrels would arise. When his household was increased by the additional families of his sons who, according to ancient custom, made their homes with him, the serene atmosphere continued; there was no question of mother-in-law, or other disturbing factors, in their nicely adjusted relations. The families were large and peace

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

578 and harmony reigned, but now all that is changing. The Indian who has to work for his living finds it hard to make [511] ends meet, and to support additional people becomes impossible, hence quarrels and unpleasant conditions begin to manifest themselves.

361 178 [231] Formerly they lived in large rancherias, but in the last twenty years the tendency has been to scatter. They have been touched by commercialism and are now showing energy in acquiring cattle and other property. Formerly, too, a family owned a couple of cows and a horse or sometimes they had no animals, but during the last twenty years the tribe has acquired a considerable number of live-stock, often twenty cows and from ten to twelve horses to a family. Four or five families are the individual possessors of a few hundred head of cattle, but there is no difference in their mode of life from that of the rest.

178 The women are clever in adapting themselves to the new conditions. I know of an instance where the wife made a shirt for her husband without ever having learned how to cut it out, and the garment, when finished, was very creditably done. What the girls desire most to acquire at school is the knowledge of music and dressmaking. Some of them have learned at the Presbyterian schools to play the piano, which redounds much to the credit of the schools. To develop man's sense for harmony and the beautiful, whether by music or other refining pursuits, is as important as to teach him to read and write.

The Papagoes recognize the white man's superiority and have begun to make money an aim in life, which may

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

273 16

over the liquor is ready to drink. If it is not consumed when fully ripe, it becomes water and loses its intoxicating qualities. In color it is blood-red and tastes like sour wine. There were nine large ollas in this house, containing twelve to fourteen gallons each, so that in all, about 120 gallons must have been consumed.

The old keeper doled the liquor in small, two-quart ollas, from which the Indians drank, passing them from mouth to mouth until all was consumed, and the ollas ready to be refilled. The Indians claim that the liquor is good for them, as it cleanses the system either as an emetic or as a cathartic. It was given to them by "Montezuma," together with the saguaro and other desert products. During the drinking there was neither quarreling nor fighting.

[157]

[173]

[578]

135

Within a quarter of a mile of Quitovaquita, at the place where the monster is said to have perished, there appears to be a great deposit of lime-like earth, and in some places limestone. This doubtless hides the skeletal remains of many large prehistoric animals, since we there found

[Arizona Labor Camps]

362 466 in a labor camp fire the grower isn't out anything but a picker who can be quickly replaced.

Fires do take an annual toll in labor camps. They 165 destroy the young: William West, who burned to death when a gas stove exploded in a labor camp, was only 2½.[1] They destroy without regard to occasion: Cecil Spikes, in his middle thirties, died in a labor camp fire on Christmas Day, 1950.[2]

362 To a person who has seen many southern Arizona labor camps, the wonder is that there has not yet been a camp holocaust catching pickers in bed at night and wiping out an entire camp's population. Camp operators have taken almost no precautions against such a catastrophe. Even camps with a number of water hydrants would be at the mercy of an intense fire, for hydrants are seldom equipped with hoses that would put water close enough to a blaze to be effective. Buckets and pans are the labor camp resident's first line of fire defense--and almost his only line.

466 A definite threat to life and limb exists in labor camps in the form of unstable migrant workers, who are largely uncontrolled by any real supervisory authority. In Pima county about a third of the camps were totally unsupervised in 1950. Most of the rest were checked periodically by the farmers, and rarely camps were under supervision by a labor contractor.[3] In Pinal county farmers showed much less concern about what went on in their labor camps in 1950. Less than a fifth of the camps seem to have been under direct supervision by a grower or his wife. Just about a third of the camps were left to the care of a foreman, and an equal proportion were kept under more or less control by a contractor. In a few cases the foreman was a Papago Indian in charge of other Papagos. A few labor camps were completely without supervision of any sort.[4]

[578] General lack of farmer supervision over camps, combined with lack of efficient rural law enforcement in both counties by sheriff's offices in 1950 allowed tension ridden camps far too high an incidence of violence.

---

[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 29, p. 13a.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28.
[3] Based on information from 12 camps.
[4] Based on information from 15 camps.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

674
578 A glance at newspaper files gives examples of the physical danger labor camp residents live under. George Butler, a farm worker, was knifed in the throat in a roadside tavern by another cotton picker in Pinal county.[1] Leonard Baker was shot outside the tent he shared with a common-law wife in a Pima county camp.[2] The mystery surrounding the death of a Papago man found on the desert in Pinal county remains unsolved at this writing.

The Eloy area is infamous for its deaths by violence in recent years of cotton field expansion. Cotton picker Alonzo Davis is in the Arizona State Prison after killing a friend in a labor camp in a drunken stupor.[3] Another cotton picker beat a drinking companion's brains out with a pipe to rob him.[4] An itinerant harvester accused the postmaster of witholding his mail, and gunned him down on the street before being slain by a wounded deputy sheriff.[5] And these are only examples.

[839] Death is not the only form of violence the non-aggressive Desert People face in labor camps. A 14 year old Papago school girl was raped by 3 men who seized her as she carried home her groceries one night in 1950.[6]

COSTS

362
466 In spite of their great dependence on hands living in their labor camps, southern Arizona farmers don't invest much in labor efficiency in the farm of good labor housing in their camps. This fact is obvious to anyone driving the highways of Pinal or Pima county. But stating the fact in terms of dollars is very difficult, due to marked reluctance of cotton growers to discuss the amount they have invested in camp housing. This reluctance, we may guess, springs from a guilty conscience over the poor quality of the labor camps, and past experience with unfavorable publicity in city newspapers.

The meager data which could be gathered in this study indicates, though it does no more than indicate, that the average cotton farmer in the region spends some $4,000 on his labor camp.[7] Actually an average of labor camp costs

---

[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 6, 1950.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, April 21, 1951.
[3] Sloter, n.d., p. 13
[4] Ibid., p. 17.
[5] Ibid., p. 23-27.
[6] Tucson Daily Citizen, Sept. 25, 1950.
[7] Data on original investment in labor housing was obtained

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [273] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [578] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

461 462 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

[1] Based on 15 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.